

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT LIMDIS USNATO 5624 ACTION SESTATE INFO ALL NATO
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QUOTE SECRET USNATO 5624

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, NATO

SUBJECT: OCTOBER 9 NAC SESSION: DISCUSSION ON MIDDLE EAST

REF: STATE 220663 (NOTAL)

DEPT PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 9, NAC EXCHANGED VIEWS ON RECENT MIDDLE EAST
DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPONSE TO SYG LUNS' INITIATIVE DESPITE A CERTAIN
LACK OF ENTHUSIASM BY SOME ALLIES WHO THOUGHT TIMING NOT RIGHT,
MCAULIFFE (US) PRESENTED OUTLINES OF POSITION (REFTEL) EMPHASIZ-
ING SECRETARY'S FEELING THAT IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN
MOMENTUM IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, LEST WE RISK LOOSING
PROGRESS ALREADY MADE. CANADA REPORTED VIEWS GROMYKO EXPRESSED
TO MACEACHEN IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25 AND OUTLINED CANADIAN POSITION
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ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. FRANCE CONTRIBUTED NOTHING SUBSTANTIVE
BUT SOUGHT TO ENSURE THAT DISCUSSION LIMITED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA
ELEVEN OF OTTAWA DECLARATION. ITALY DEPLORED UN APPEARANCE
OF PLO, SAYING IT WILL ONLY HARDEN ISREALI POSITION AND MAKE

HUSAYN'S ROLE MORE DIFFICULT. UK FELT NAC SHOULD EXAMINE SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POSITION MORE CLOSELY. ALLIES WERE GENERALLY HOPEFUL REGARDING OUTCOME OF SECRETARY'S TRIP AND UNANIMOUSLY REQUESTED US BRIEFING ON RESULTS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON OCTOBER 9 NAC HELD EXCHANGE OF ALLIED VIEWS AS SYG WANTED. LUNS SAID TOPIC VERY IMPORTANT AND DESERVED DISCUSSION AT THIS TIME. HE HOPED NAV WOULD CONSIDER 1) PRESENT SITUATION, INCLUDING DEVELOPMENTS AND RISKS OF RENEWED CONFLICT, 2) MEANS AT ALLIANCE DISPOSAL TO PREVENT OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES, AND 3) IN EVENT OF HOSTILITIES, STEPS ALLIES MIGHT TAKE TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH CLOUDED ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS ONE YEAR AGO.

2. CANADIAN PERMREP (MENZIES) LED OFF WITH BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MEETING BETWEEN GROMYKO AND EXTAFF SECRETARY MACEACHEN IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25 DURING WHICH MIDDLE EAST WAS A TOPIC. HE REPORTED GROMYKO SAW ISREALI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL, NOT JUST SOME, OCCUPIED TERRITORY AS KEY REQUIREMENT. GROMYKO CRITICIZED US FOR BEING UNABLE TO PRESSURE ISRAEL ON THIS POINT. ACCORDING TO MENZIES, GROMYKO ALSO DESCRIBED US POSITION AS LACKING CLEAR AND DETAILED OVERALL SOLUTION. MENZIES SAID GROMYKO'S STATEMENT LACKED NUANCE AND CONTAINED NOTHING UNEXPECTED.

3. MENZIES THEN OUTLINED FOUR-POINT CANADIAN POSITION ON PALESTINIAN/PLO ISSUE: CANADA 1) FAVORS CONTINUATION OF HUMANITARIAN AID THROUGH UNRWA; 2) BELIEVES PALESTINIANS HAVE RIGHT TO REPATRIATION OR COMPENSATION; C) FEELS PALESTINIANS HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN NEGOTIATIONS; AND 4) DOES NOT OPPOSE PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES BUT HAS RESERVATIONS ON PLO RECOGNITION. ON LAST POINT, OTTAWA FEARS THAT PRESENT FLOW OF EVENTS MAY PUSH CANADIAN POSITION FURTHER THAN IT WOULD LIKE AND MAY AFFECT THE "FLEXIBILITY OF THOSE WHO WISH TO REMAIN FLEXIBLE." HE CITED DRAFT EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION BEFORE UNGA CALLING FOR PLO TO ADRESS UNGA PLENARY AS EXAMPLE OF SUCH AN EVENT. IN SUBSEQUENT REMARKS, MENZIES EXPRESSED
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CONCERN OVER PRECEDENT THAT PROPOSED TREATMENT OF PLO IN NEW YORK WOULD SET REGARDING OTHER LIBERATION-TYPE MOVEMENTS.

4. FRENCH CHARGE (CARRAUD) SAID FRANCE WAS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN AN "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" ON MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORD WITH LIMITS EXPRESSED PARA ELEVEN OF OTTAWA ATLANTIC DECLARATION, CARRAUD HOWEVER CAUTIONED AGAINST INTERPRETING THIS EXCHANGE AS AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE COMMON ALLIANCE POLICY. HE SAID COUNCIL MIGHT WISH TO CALL ON MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS NOW MEETING AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. HE REQUESTED THAT ALLIES AVOID "STATEMENTS OF CONFLICTING VIEWS," AND ASKED THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THIS DISCUSSION REMAIN EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL.

5. MCAULIFFE PRESENTED OUTLINES OF US POSITION BASED ON DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE (REFTEL), EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING MOMENTUM IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. MCAULIFFE POINTED OUT THAT KEY AIM OF SECRETARY'S TRIP IS TO DEVELOP CONSENSUS LEADING TOWARD FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. AT MOMENT, HE SAID, WE ARE WORKING TO ACHIEVE UNDERSTANDING ON TIMING, MODALITIES AND RELATIONSHIP OF NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD. WE BELIEVE MOST IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITIES FOR NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN SINAI AND WEST BANK. US RECOGNIZES NEED TO ASSURE THAT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT; HOWEVER, ISRAEL WON'T SIT DOWN NOW WITH PALESTINIANS AS SUCH. CHARGE SAID US BELIEVES JORDAN MUST BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON WEST BANK ISSUES WITH ISRAEL.

6. MCAULIFFE TOLD COUNCIL US CONSIDERS MILITARY BALANCE IN MIDDLE EAST TO BE ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FROM WHAT IT WAS BEFORE OCTOBER 1973 WAR. US IS SATISFIED THAT EGYPT-ISRAEL DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENTED AND OBSERVED. ON ISRAEL-SYRIA FRONT, AGREEMENT IS BEING PROPERLY OBSERVED WITH SOME DISCREPANCIES WHICH HAVE LARGELY RESULTED FROM DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT OR MAPS OR FROM SITUATIONS NOT COVERED IN THE AGREEMENT. HE TOLD THE COUNCIL THAT UNLESS THERE IS SOME PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE RISK OF ANOTHER ROUND OF FIGHTING WILL INCREASE.

7. AMBASSADOR CATALANO (ITALY) DESCRIBED MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS AT TURNING POINT, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT DEBATE ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN UNGA MIGHT UPSET DELICATE SITUATION; IT MIGHT LEAD ISRAEL TO THINK
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ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS IMPERILED. CATALANO DEPLORED POSSIBILITY OF UN GRANTING OBSERVER STATUS TO PLO AS THIS HARDEN ISRAEL'S POSITION AND MAKE HUSAYN'S ROLE MORE DIFFICULT. CATALANO SAID HIS AUTHORITIES DO NOT REGARD RENEWAL OF CONFLICT AS PROBABLE. HOWEVER, THERE COULD BE OUTBREAK OF WAR EARLY NEXT YEAR IF ARABS FEEL ENCOURAGED BY INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THEIR POSITION.

8. UK PERMREP (PECK) REMARKED THAT PALESTINIAN/PLO ISSUE WILL DELAY POSSIBLE JORDAN-ISRAEL TALKS. ACCORDING TO PECK, HUSAYN, UNDER ARAB PRESSURE HAS OPTED AGAINST DIRECT TALKS WITH ISRAEL IN FAVOR OF ISRAELI-PLO TALKS, KNOWING FULL WELL THAT ISRAEL WILL REFUSE SUCH TALKS. ACCORDINGLY JORDAN WILL NOT MODIFY POSITION BEFORE ARAB SUMMIT OCTOBER 26. PECK ALSO POINTED TO RAPID PROGRESS IN CLEARING OF THE SUEZ CANAL BUT HE DOUBTED CANAL COULD BE OPERATED UNTIL THERE IS POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN SINAI. HE SUGGESTED THAT NAC EXAMINE SOVIET MID-EAST POSITION MORE CLOSELY AND HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF US COULD BRIEF ALLIES NOT ONLY ON RESULTS OF SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP, BUT ALSO ON SUBSEQUENT US EXCHANGES WITH SOVIETS ABOUT MIDDLE EAST DURING MOSCOW VISIT. PECK DISAGREED WITH CURRAUD'S CAUTION ON DISSENTING VIEWS, SAYING THAT IF ALLIES AIR DIVERGENT OPINIONS NOW IN A PERIOD OF RELATIVE CALM, THERE WILL BE

LESS DANGER TO ALLIED UNITY IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER CRISIS.

9. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE), NOTED FRENCH VIEWS ON EXTENT OF CONSULTATION, CHARACTERISED PRESENT DISCUSSION AS EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. HE SAID THERE IS NOT QUESTION OF ACTING AS ALLIANCE ON THIS DIFFICULT PROBLEM AREA. DE STAERCKE ASKED IF CARRAUD COULD INFORM NAC OF POSITION OF THE EC-NINE. IN REPLY CARRAUD SAID EC-NINE WOULD LIKE TO PLAY ROLE BUT HAD NOT YET FORMULATED AGREED POSITIONS ON MIDDLE EAST. DE STAERCKE SAID GROMYKO'S CRITICISM OF US POSITION AS LACKING AN OVERALL SOLUTION TO MIDDLE EAST DIFFICULTIES IS REAL COMPLIMENT TO SECRETARY KISSINGER, SINCE CONSISTENT US APPROACH HAS BEEN TO BUILD TOWARD A SOLUTION IN STAGES AND NOT ATTEMPT TO PRECONCEIVE AND IMPOSE PARTICULAR FINAL SOLUTION. NOTING THAT MILITARY SITUATION WAS DESCRIBED BY US AS BACK IN "BALANCE," DE STAERCKE QUESTIONED NEED FOR CONTINUED ARMS DELIVERIES TO AREA.

10. DE STAERCKE ALSO ASKED IF COUNCIL CAN HOPE THAT MEMBER OF SECRETARY'S ENTOURAGE CAN BRIEF NAC AFTER SECRETARY'S TRIP.

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SYG SAID HE PLANS TO SCHEDULE FURTHER NAC DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC FOLLOWING TRIP. MCAULIFFE PROMISED TO REPORT THESE REQUESTS FROM ALLIES. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT WASHINGTON HAD INTERESTS OF ITS ALLIES VERY MUCH IN MIND BUT THAT COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS SORT MADE IT DIFFICULT TO SCHEDULE BRIEFINGS OR FORECAST AVAILABILITY OF KEY MEMBERS OF SECRETARY'S STAFF. SPEAKING PERSONALLY AND WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, MCAULIFFE ADDED THAT -- DEPENDING ON PROGRESS

MADE AND SITUATION OBTAINING AT CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S TRIP -- THERE

MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT SUBSTANCE TO WARRANT A REINFORCED NAC.

11. TURKISH PERMREP (ERALP), NOTING THAT OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD MENTIONED MANY PROBLEMS WITHOUT OFFERING SOLUTIONS, RAISED PROBLEM OF JERUSALEM. ERALP SAID TURKEY SUPPORTED THE UN POSITION ON INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM AND HAD ALWAYS OBJECTED TO ATTEMPTS TO MAKE IT INTO ISRAELI CITY. FRG PERMREP (KRAPF) REMINDED COUNCIL OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENT TO NAC THAT THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL A BETTER OVERALL CLIMATE HAD BEEN CREATED.

12. COMMENT: AS EXPECTED, ALLIES LOOKED TO US FOR LEADERSHIP THROUGHOUT DISCUSSION AND CONTRIBUTED LITTLE OF THEIR OWN INFORMATION OR PLANNING. ALLIES CONTINUALLY RETURNED TO THEME THAT ALL HOPES FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT REST IN CURRENT TRIP BY SECRETARY TO MIDDLE EAST. DESIRE WAS UNANIMOUS THAT SOMEONE BRIEF COUNCIL ON STATUS OF SITUATION UPON CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S TRIP. END COMMENT. MCAULIFFE UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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